174 182 565 [554 727] to maintain, which others seized from them, and suzerains became vassals. But in spite of these contingencies of war, the Tuareg attach great importance to blood origins and always respect high-born people, even though they may be their vanquished /adversaries/.

554 565 581 Thus, at the present time, the nobles of the Ahaggar and the Ajjer may be seen to seek alliances with women of the fallen fraction of the Imenan Sultans. This adds to the luster of their high origin a certain character of religious nobility, which is much appreciated among Moslems.

000 Monogamy and matriarchy. -- To understand Tuareg society, one must remember two important facts, facts which are, moreover, not completely independent of each other, monogamy and matriarchy.

174 ●562 [595] /151/ While the Tuareg are Moslems and have polygamous peoples as neighbors, it is astonishing to note that they practice monogamy. This is an evident indication that women occupy an important place in their society, in no way comparable to what they occupy among the Arabs. This was very striking to the first travelers who thought they saw traces of an ancient Christianity in the persistence of monogamy. This argument might be held if we did not know, on the other hand, that the social organization of the Tuareg rests on matriarchy, an ancient custom much earlier than the Christian era, which explains monogamy and the particularly high position of women.

Gautier writes on this subject: "It may be said that the Tuareg practice chivalrous gallantry; the expression is inadequate only because of the association it evokes. Our chivalry has a Christian origin; the respect of the Tuareg for women has much deeper and more remote reasons. It goes back to matriarchy, which is earlier than the notion of the state and even that of the family. It is a living witness of completely primordial humanity, a sentiment, if I may say so, of the quaternary age." (1)

1. La conquête du Sahara /The Conquest of the Sahara/, p. 33.

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tribe and takes her children with her. But if she is divorced and has adolescent children, they stay with their father. We find here an Islamic influence as well as a mixed matri-patriarchal system.

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One of the consequences of matriarchy is to cause disputes which set cousins against each other and put the father, torn between his paternal affection and his clan bonds, in an embarrassing situation. It is a different case for masculine filiation, which, as Lowie has written, (1) although it does not create solidarity by itself, favors

1. Manuel d'Anthropologie culturelle /Handbook of Cultural Anthropology/, p. 292.

the formation of larger and more stable political units. It is thus that we could explain in part the somewhat anarchic state in which the Tuareg live.

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In their case we are confronted at the present time by a matriarchy evolving toward a patriarchy. Although the woman ascribes the caste of her children and assures their political rights, her social position is not predominant in proportion to that of the man, who is the head of the family. We find this notion in many Australian tribes with an archaic matriarchy, where the woman's position is no better in matrilinear than in patrilinear tribes. (2)

2. Lowie, op. cit., p. 292.

[584]
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However, a woman has more liberty at her disposition in matriarchal societies than in patriarchal ones. She is consulted on choosing her husband insofar as marriage is concerned, she has free disposition of her goods, handles them /153/ as she wishes, and even has a greater freedom of mores.

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It is rather difficult to clarify the origin of the matriarchy among the Tuareg.

174 in the Sudan, the Sanhadja-Nounou, was governed by a woman named Bikoun-Kabi, whom the Sonrhaï /Songhai/ emperor Sonni-Ali had to conquer in order to seize her territory. Es-Sadi, author of the Tarik-es-Soudan, reports several facts of this kind.

The Islamization of the Berber tribes certainly had a part in the elimination of the custom. Women no longer play any official [562] political role in our times. But they have made themselves the guardians of ancestral customs and folklore, and their authority is [626] so strong that one /154/ can only quote the answer of a Tuareg to an Arab who admonished him upon the subject of Tuareg mores: "No one would dare do otherwise, for then no woman would look at us any longer."

162 182 595 The persistence of monogamy among the Tuareg is also favored by the considerable excess of men found among them, an exceptinnal fact and contrary to what we observe in other human groups.

643 [192] [184] The amenokal. -- Amenokal means in Tamashek "possessor of the country" (from am, possessive prefix, and akal, "country"). In the Ahaggar this title is conferred only upon the supreme chief reigning over a whole of noble, vassal, or assimilated tribes. In Sudanese tribes, on the other hand, it may be applied to heads of fractions, indeed even to mere camp chiefs.

The amenokal is designated according to hereditary rules deriving from the matriarchal system. He is always chosen, not only in the same tribe, but in the same line which one could compare to the clan. His domination, to be effective, must be sanctioned by the approval of the nobles to whom are joined for the occasion the chiefs of vassal tribes. For the latter, approval involves an agreement to pay tribute later.

Sometimes there are several pretenders to the title; perhaps a descendant of a formerly ousted family asserts his rights, or perhaps the natural heir is recognized incapable of leadership. This brings about a competition where hereditary rules are not always respected.

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554 The Imochar, on the other hand, are much more distinguished
[302] than the Imrad; their toilette is more elaborate and their bearing
[516] nobler, so that it is often easy to distinguish them from the Imrad
by their more majestic carriage. They also assume a more elegant
[195] language, from which are banished vulgar expressions and words
foreign to their language, brought in by slaves. This difference of
appearance and language is even more perceptible among the
554 women; they are sometimes astonishing by their grace and their
562 refined manners. They are real great ladies, who receive in their
574 leather tents with as much dignity as European women of good society.
Moreover, they make a certain show of receiving their guests well
[533] and charm them with the melodious sounds of their violins. The
qualities esteemed in a wellborn young Tuareg girl consist in knew-
[565] ing how to keep her tent, making a few beautiful embroidered leather
articles to give to friends or to a knight waiting upon her, and know-
ing how to play the violin.

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[83] Outside of their trips in the desert, the Imochar spend one part
513] of their life courting women and the other sleeping.

The mores are much looser for the Imochar than for the
[842] Imrad, bringing about late marriages and consequently unions which
582] are most often rather unprolific. The French occupation, on the
other hand, has taken away their real raison d'être as they see it,
[648] and a certain neurasthenia seems to have taken hold of them in the
last few years. It would be quite regrettable to see such an original
stock /Fr. race/ disappear, but faced with its inertia in adapting it-
self to new conditions, we cannot quite see what palliative we could
bring it.

565 The Inislimen. -- The Inislimen make up the religious class
[793 among the Tuareg, playing the role of chaplains and marabouts /162/
87] and entrusted with the formation and religious education of the
children.

Therefore, they occupy an important social position, quite
[651] superior to that of the Imrad. In some confederations they are exempt

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The inside of a tent. The baggage is hung from the tent poles. Very young children play on the ground, where a thick layer of fine sand has been placed.

Kel Ahaggar women, especially the Imrad women, often ride on the backs of asses. One of them has just met two friends, with whom she is exchanging news on the maharists who have gone far away.

1: Lhote--66a E-5 (1929-1940) 1944 MS25 Tuareg MS25

844 the child is in a good position; she also rolls her on the ground to put the child in place if need be, but she never makes a vaginal exploration.

845 [756] If the birth does not go normally, the midwife may ask the marabout's help. The latter comes and stands outside the tent, giving verbal advice but never intervening personally; he cannot go near the parturient woman.

844 To give birth the woman squats down on her knees and braces herself on the center stake of the tent. Generally /283/ the baby falls on a layer of fine sand which has been prepared for that purpose. The midwife immediately cuts the umbilical cord, washes the baby in warm water, and makes him cry by pinching him to make sure he is alive. Then the mother takes him, puts a bit of her milk in [856] his nostrils, stretches his nose so that it will be long and narrow, and presses his head between her hands to give it an elongated shape. [774] This custom is certainly a vestige of cranial deformation, which is no longer practiced among the Tuareg but which was formerly common among the Egyptians.

As soon as the father learns of the birth of the baby, he has a sheep butchered and sends it to the wife's camp. The sheep is meant 846 to feed her and the people who have assisted her. The woman is made to absorb a great deal of meat bouillon. Sometimes the new mother gets up two or three days after confinement.

851 The birth of a boy is welcomed with more joy than that of a girl. [842] In the first case, all the people, men and women, come to congratulate the mother, but if it is a girl only the women come to [852] see her. During this visit the women often put yellow ocher under their eyes and around their mouths to keep away the bad genii which [751] are always supposed to prowl around in tents where a newborn baby has just arrived.

846 On the seventh day after the birth, the woman returns to her husband's camp, accompanied by the women of her family and her brothers, if she has any. The father then sees his child for the first time.

583 The bride price (taggalt) to be paid by the bridegroom-to-be
[584 565] is then set. It is usually seven camels among the Imochar and less among the Imrad, where it may be made up of camels, goats, or sheep. Asses are never given. This bride price may be paid all at once or in installments. It becomes the property of the parents of the girl; she, in turn, may be given a dowry by them.

593 In marriage (addoubâl) the woman retains free control of her
[562] [421] property and in no way meets household expenses. These expenses fall entirely on the husband. By this system, therefore, the woman's fortune grows rapidly, while the man's remains stationary or decreases.

584 As soon as the bride price is settled, the date is set for the marriage, sometimes a few days after the request, other times
[184] a year later or even two years if the girl is very young. The latter custom is particularly in use in Sudanese tribes, however.

585 The marriage festivities take place in the girl's camp, and the marriage is consummated only a week later. The brothers and parents of the fiancé come to the camp of the girl's parents, where they are entertained and given a sumptuous meal. During the seven days before the marriage is consummated, the fiancé does not have the right to come to the camp in daylight. He then takes shelter in a tent apart, where his friends keep him company. During this entire period he bears the name of anesdiben.

[536] The entertainment which accompanies the marriage festivities consists of a fantasia executed by meharists who pass back and forth in groups of two or four in front of the women,
[533] among whom the fiancée is sitting. The women play the tambourine and violin accompanied by /292/ songs. In the Ahaggar the marriage song is played to the musical rhythm of "aliouen," that is, the olive trees. This custom, according to
[174] Dr. Vermale, is a trace of the ancient pagan influence, where the olive tree was the tree dedicated to the goddess of love. (1)

1. Vermale, op. cit., p. 175.

585 accompanied by her women relatives mounted on asses, leaves,
591 followed by the men on camel back, for her new home. There she
[592] is received by the chief and the old women.

While the married couple take refuge in their tent, the company carouses and dances. The festivities begin at sunset and do not end until dawn the next day, when all those present are exhausted.

593 The young women is then a member of her new family, which
[574] she will leave only in case of divorce or the death of her husband. In the meantime, she does not have the right to go visit her parents, but they may come to her camp.

562 Tuareg women keep a great deal of independence in marriage.
593 It is hard to tell whether they are faithful wives or whether they take advantage of their husbands' often prolonged absences to mis-
837 behave. According to some (Duveyrier) their conduct is exemplary; according to others (de Foucauld, Vermale) they leave much to be desired, and the wives continue to practice the light mores learned at the ahal. "Their unique preoccupation," says Dr. Vermale, "is love; having lovers is their only aim." It is certain that former lovers from the lovers' meetings continue to come visit the married women and to praise their charms in the ahal. But it must be explained that the husbands do not show jealousy, which would be in the worst taste, and that this courting seems quite Platonic. It is very difficult to ask questions on this subject, for the Tuareg are careful of their wives' reputations and maintain that they are above reproach.

As for the men, their conduct is proper in their camps, although some do not hesitate to make use of their women slaves. But when they go on caravans and arrive in the centers far from their country, they give free rein to their passion which a long abstinence has made more impetuous.

684 Adultery (aker) of women is often punished by death. The man does justice himself without anyone thinking to reproach him, killing the guilty parties by his own hand.

764 A marabout or a literate man reads the Moslem prayer, and the men, standing behind him with their hands coupled and open at chest height, repeat it with him. Women do not participate in the burial.

Modern Tuareg tombs have stone markers (chouabed), one at the feet and one at the head for men, one at the head and two at the feet for women. They are oval in shape and the mound is slightly dome-shaped. They usually have stones around them, forming a gully with a forward part open to the east. One often finds wooden stakes or tent stakes stuck into the two ends of the grave, as well as large balls of hyaline quartz which, /297/ according to the Tuareg, were used to rub the body of the dead man before burying him. In many places where there are hyenas, as in the Sudan, the tomb is generally covered over with thorny branches to prevent them from digging up the dead man.

After the burial the persons who came for the occasion present their condolences to the family. The family has a meal served for them in memory of the deceased.

768 The dead man's clothing are given to the marabout or to the person who washed him.

Then camp is immediately broken, and the people never return to camp at that place.

765 Mourning does exist among the Tuareg. It lasts only a short time for the man who has lost his wife. For three days he stays shut up in his tent. During this time the ahal and all rejoicings are forbidden in the camp. For the wife who has lost her husband, mourning is a real retreat which lasts four months and ten days, during which time she must not appear in public. The end of the retreat is marked by a little ceremony: the women of the camp take the widow to see the sunrise, present her with an open book of piety, and show her some salt.

761 The Tuareg never bewail the death of a person, and condolences often have the following formula: "You are fortunate, for the one you loved is now in the paradise of God."

727 that the Amrid paid part of it to the Imochar. The lender of arms or meharis was compensated in his turn, and that part of the booty was called abellag.

726 The Tuareg had the reputation of acting treacherously in battle and not always following the rules of chivalry for Saharian war.

In battle a man who threw himself at the feet of his conqueror and touched his clothes placed himself under his protection and 727 had a right to live; but the Tuareg did not always value this rule and often killed their prisoners.

When a tribe had been pillaged illegally, that is, when there had been no previous acts of hostility authorizing reprisal, a delegation of warriors from that tribe came to the opposing camp to try to negotiate for the return of the captures. This is what the Arabs call the myad, a term which has been adopted by the Tuareg. There again the Tuareg did not always show themselves to be very chivalrous, and they often savagely massacred the defenseless ambassadors.

726 During wars and raids, women enjoy the rare privilege of ●562 being respected by the combatants. During the operations of the French occupation, men were often seen fleeing the camps, abandoning the women /324/ and children to the conquerors. [648] This conduct has often caused the Tuareg to be accused of cowardice. This was a false intepretation of the facts, for the Tuareg acted that way prompted by the immunity which women enjoyed.

184 It is shameful during a raid to forget this rule of protection 726 and do violence to women, strip them of their clothes, or 562 penetrate into their tents. The infractions committed were often the acts of unscrupulous persons without honor. Most of the Imrad and Iklan, it appears, are in the habit of stripping women of their clothes and their jewels, going so far as to leave them completely nude, and it even happens that they rape them. The

more chivalrous Imochar and a few rare Imrad try to oppose this, but in warlike escapades the Iklan and people with few morals are often more numerous than the others.

Abuses of women always called for vengeance, which the adversaries usually received before long. Acts of this kind were enough to raise up entire tribes against one another. And so, in the Sudan, the exactions of Marabout Abidine's people on the Kel Adrar Tuareg, at the time of the murder of their aménokal Safikroum in 1912, made irreconcilable enemies of these two fractions.

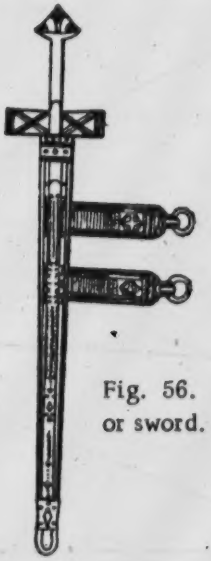


Fig. 56. The tacouba, or sword.

At the beginning of the French occupation, when lieutenants Cottenest and Guilho-Lohan carried out their reconnaissance missions in the Ahaggar, they found women abandoned in the camps by their husbands. The good care which was taken of them made it easier to make peaceful contact later with the Ihaggaren.

Tuareg weapons include iron lances, javelins with wooden staff, swords, daggers, and a buckler.

/325/ Even before the French occupation the Tuareg knew how to use firearms and possessed a certain number of guns. They were for the most part projectile weapons or archaic models of the

565 three main classes, the Tuareg nobles (fig. 46) and vassals (fig. 47) and the Negro slaves.

565 Rank seems to be essentially a quality of the clan rather than of the individual, for the 614 Tuareg commonly speak of "noble clans" and "vassal clans," and, when one is in doubt about [554] a person's social status, one does not ask what his rank is but what clan he belongs to. The "tobol," [6] the symbol of precedence, is clan property and belongs to no particular family, although it is kept by the chief of the premier clan of a tribe as the symbol of his authority.

619 The Ahaggar confederation comprises three tribes, the Kel Rela, the Tégéhé Mellet and the 614 Taïtoq, each headed by a noble clan which gives its name to the tribe as a whole [7] (figs. 25, 26, *b* and 27). Noble clans by definition outrank vassal clans, so that the chief of a noble Ahaggar clan is usually chief of his tribe as well. The noble clans and their dependent vassal clans with them are arranged in an order of precedence, and so the chief of the premier [643] clan (the *Kel Rela*) is also chief of the Kel Rela tribe and paramount chief (*Amenokal*) of the Ahaggar confederation.

614 It is men who govern at all levels of Ahaggar society. Among the Tuareg a tribal chief is 622 chosen from the premier clan of the tribe by ●562 a clan council made up of the male heads of households, but he must be confirmed in office by a council of male representatives of all the component clans of his tribe because his tenure depends materially on the willingness of these clans to pay him tribute. For the same reason, the final confirmation of an amenokal rests with a council made up of male representatives of all the clans in the whole confederation. Tribal chiefs also act as judges, and an amenokal is the chief justice of his confederation.

622 Chieftainship is hereditary in the female line,[8] but within fairly broad and seemingly rather indefinite limits of degree of relation-

thereabouts, but this succession may not have been thought of as brother-to-brother inheritance after all. It seems perhaps more likely that the successor in such a case is looked on as an heir of the former chief's mother rather than of the former chief himself. Ancient Egyptian records, cited by Bates (1914, p. 112), tell of at least one Libyan chief who was succeeded by his younger brother in preference to his son. It would be a waste of time for us to try to explain the few early cases of father-to-son inheritance that have been reported because the circumstances surrounding them are not at all clear.

837 There can be little doubt that the behavior patterns of the Tuareg on such occasions are often different from those which characterize them when they are among themselves.

We must not forget either that irregular sexual activities, before or after marriage, are all but impossible to conceal in the wide open spaces of a desert, whereas it is no trick at all to hide them among the blocks and sky-scrapers of great cities like Paris and New York or even in such provincial capitals as Boston and Algiers. All things considered, it seems rather unlikely that sexual laxity is more common among the Ahaggar Tuareg than it is in the urban communities of western Europe and America, at least in cases where husbands and their wives are separated as often and for comparable periods of time.

593 422 A bride retains full title to all her personal property including livestock, while the husband pays all the family expenses out of his own pocket although his wife may contribute if she feels so inclined. 562 Women are treated with the greatest respect and deference, but they can hold no office nor can they exercise any command beyond the very limited field of their own household affairs, nor can they appear in council or appoint speakers to represent them there. On very rare occasions a noble woman may intervene as an official peacemaker in a quarrel so serious that it might lead to a blood feud if allowed to go unchecked, and this can happen even in cases where the parties to the quarrel are not related to her by either blood or marriage, but only an older woman of very high rank and renowned for her intelligence, strength of character and diplomacy can ever play such a role.

611 The discerning reader will have noticed that the picture we have just examined is full of gaping holes which cannot be filled in at present for lack of the necessary information. In spite of this we get a distinct impression of a double descent system as defined by Gibson (1956): "the utilization in one society of both patrilineal and matrilineal principles of affiliation resulting in two lineage systems cross-cutting each other." Among the Ahaggar Tuareg the patrilineal descent system is "conjunctive" in that it provides channels of interaction between segments of a "disjunctive" matrilineal system which "divides the society

351 and are extended out in front to form a sheltered enclosure which is usually semicircular with the entrance opening in the middle. The little forecourt and the ground inside the tent as well are covered with clean sand or very fine gravel from the bed of a nearby stream. Tuareg camps are always very tidy and astonishingly clean.

562 342 Both in the forecourt and in the tent itself the men's place is on the right as you enter and the women's and children's on the left, which is the reverse of the arrangement customary among Arabs. It has often been said that the men's place is on the East, but this is simply because tents are almost always pitched facing south.

352 [439] [415] [412] Household furniture and effects include sheepskins, or rugs obtained from the North by trade, leather bags of food and personal belongings, saddles, bridles and weapons, wooden bowls, funnels and spoons and maybe an earthenware cooking pot or two, a wooden mortar and pestle or perhaps two sets of different sizes, and a stone quern which may be either of the Neolithic saddle type or the small rotary model of the Roman Legions. Arms and food are stored in the men's half of the tent and equipment connected with food preparation in the women's half. A guerba full of water is hung from two long stakes just outside the forecourt. A brush [343] windbreak built nearby shelters the outdoor kitchen, and another windbreak, some 50 to 100 yards away, shelters the family slaves.

Sometimes in the hottest months, and particularly when a camp remains stationary for a considerable length of time as it does in periods so dry that it is dangerous to move far from a permanent water supply, the tents may be stowed away and zeribas set up in their place. We recall that these are cubical or cylindrical structures made of reeds, long grass or palm fronds laid over a wooden framework measuring roughly 10 to 15 feet across and 8 to 10 feet high (fig. 37, *a*). The Amenokal's camp was installed in zeribas when the writer visited it in November, 1955, near the end of an unusually long period of drought.

361 Camps are always pitched in an inconspicuous spot and always on high ground except on very rare occasions when the sky is cloud-

The men leave, the women go back into the tents, but the fortunate ones who have succeeded by means of assiduous courtship to touch the heart of their love, will soon come back secretly or will go to the place which has been appointed for them. Let us draw a veil!... 832 836

One might wonder what can become of the virtue of young girls with such customs. Almost always it has gone up in the air. But a Tuareg will not pay attention to this detail when it is a matter of getting married. He knows with what to be content: he has often profited by it. It is all the same to him. 585 836

The ahal is one of the reasons for late marriages among the Tuareg. Marriage requires expenditures upon which one does not decide until one has been able to acquire a little means, and that is why it is not unusual among the Tuareg to see men marry at the age of forty. With all he finds to entertain him, the Tuareg does not feel the need to get married. This does not mean that many do not marry around twenty-five, but in general a man marries quite late. 582 836

Farther on, in the little collection of songs, will appear the qualities which a man must have in order to succeed at the ahal, as well as the kind of songs which are sung there. /Not translated./ /11/ 000

Chapter V

The Role of the Woman in Tuareg Society

At every step one sees the influence of the woman in Tuareg society. In Tuareg history, the inheritance, the life, the thought, and the behavior, everywhere her influence is felt. 562

In the matter of history, it is from her that the Tuareg says he is descended. Thus the nobles of the Ahaggar will tell 173 562

us that they are the descendants of a woman by the name of 173
Tin Hinane. In the war which brought Azdjer and Ahaggar to 562
arms, the tears of the Imanan women were the deciding factor
in the Ahaggar taking up arms.

As to inheritance, it is known that this is handed down 428
through the woman. It is from his mother that the son holds 562
the right to command and to the collection of the "tioussé, "
or tribute from the "imr'ad, " or serfs. Not only is the son [611
noble or serf according as his mother is noble or serf regardless 565]
of the father's status, for "it is the womb that holds the child, "
but he also changes his tribe and becomes a member of his
mother's tribe if she does not belong to the same one as her
husband.

In life, the woman enjoys a freedom of conduct which is 562
not customarily allowed in Moslem countries. [171]

She does not veil her face like Moslem women except [576]
as a sign of respect, when she draws her veil, "ikerhi, " over
her face.

She goes freely to pay visits to her parents, uncles, aunts, [574
etc., and since she sees them seldom because of the distances 431]
between camps, custom decrees that the relative who receives
her visit should make her a present.

She has succeeded in maintaining monogamy, which is [595]
the rule among the Tuareg even though they are Moslems. /12/

Even though married she may have a man friend, "amidi" 562
•V] , who sings her praises and makes verses for her, 572
while she gives him something for his personal use. He is,
in a way, her knight. Thus, although married, Dassine
embroidered for her cousin, Moussa ag Amastane, the amenokal
of the Ahaggar, the bridle and breast strap of his horse, while
Moussa, without hesitation, recited before everyone the lines
which he composed in her praise, and often received her visits.

In the absence of her husband she may receive a man [574]
who comes to chat with her and pay her a visit, without the
husband, on his return, dreaming of being annoyed. Only [837
adultery in flagrante delicto can justify the anger of the husband. 593]

A married woman has possessions independent of those of her husband. Her camels bear her special mark, different from that of her husband. She does not take part in household work unless she wishes to do so. 422 562 592

She has the right not to follow her husband immediately after her marriage, but to camp near the tent of her parents for a year after her union, so that she can accustom herself gradually to the idea of separation. 562 591

To obtain a divorce, it is enough for her to refuse herself to her husband and to take refuge with her parents. 586

Almost all women, except the poor, have meharis as mounts and their individual saddles. 422 492 562

At the ahal, as we have seen, she rules as mistress.

Noble or serf, she has one or more negresses reponsible for the heavy work of the household and for the preparation of food. 357 562

It is she who is the more educated, for she knows better than her husband how to write and read the "tifinagh's" (names of the characters of Tamashek writing), and it is she who teaches her children to read. 212 562 868

She plays the amz'ad, the instrument for which the Tuareg have such a lively predilection. "When two groups come to blows and one of them is defeated, the victors cry to the vanquished this wild cry peculiar to the Tuareg: /13/ 533 562 726

'Hia! hia! hia!

'So there will be no amz'ad!'

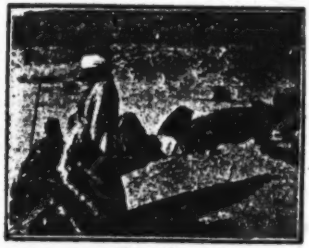
"At the threat of the silence of the 'imz'aden' the vanquished return to the charge, so great is the fear of the women's unfavorable opinion." (Duveyrier).

Nothing gives the Tuareg as much pleasure as for one to be interested in the deeds and ways of the women of their tribes. Thus one has only to speak of Dassine or of Mellouka, women who enjoy a great reputation for beauty and intelligence in the Ahaggar, to see a stiff attitude give way to great good humor 521 562 602

and gaiety, always on condition that the conversation does not take place in the presence of relatives to whom the Tuareg who is addressed owes respect. 521 562 602

The Tuareg woman intervenes effectively in quarrels between the men of her family and, in order to please her, reconciliation takes place. Thus it was thanks to Rakhma, sister of Moussa ag Amastane, that the latter became reconciled with his brother-in-law, Anaba ag Amellal. 562 [593 578]

In short, one may say that nothing is ever done or said among the Tuareg in which the influence of the woman is not found, always and everywhere, and this will be seen as the reading of this article continues. /14/ [291]



Dautheville
Tuareg Group in the Oued Ti-n-amadal Settafen (Tifedest).

Chapter VI

Proposal of Marriage

Proposal of marriage, "ibadrahen" ⵉⴱⴰⴷⵔⴰⵀⴻⵏ, is governed by a definite rule of procedure. 584

The suitor for a woman's hand sends marabouts, if there are any, to her parents, or tolbas, or, lacking these, influential people who state his request.

The proposal must be known to all the relatives of the woman without exception; they must all be notified and

their permission asked, even those who are far away. It would be very bad to marry a young girl without the knowledge of one of the members of her family. 584

Since a girl usually marries at twenty to twenty-five years, she is consulted. Even if she is a virgin and, as such, subject to parental authority according to Moslem law, she is usually not forced to marry against her will. If the case arises, she has only to refuse herself to her husband, and he does not insist but sends her back to her parents. [582]

Just as among the Arabs, a woman who has already been married must give her consent. [587]

Chapter VII

Marriage

Marriage, "adouben" ⵜⴰⴷⵓⴱⵏⵜ or "tedout" ⵜⵜⴰⴷⵓⵜ has some quite curious features. 585

The proposal of marriage has been accepted. The day of the wedding has been set. If a quite influential noble is getting married, the wedding /15/ will have many guests. If it is an "amr'id" (serf), the celebration will be much simpler and more private, but the ceremonies and songs will be the same. [554]

The men guests, mounted on their best meharis, arrayed in their most beautiful clothes and finest arms, arrive at the bride's camp where the wedding is to take place. The women go to the bride's home with their "imz'aden" (violins) and their "tobol" (drums).

If the women are poor they go there by donkey; if they are rich they arrive by mehari, in their saddles which are shaped like sedan chairs and of which we will find a description below. [492 556 562]

I was told in the Ahaggar that youths may not say their prayers in the presence of women for, in the course of genuflections and prostrations, they have to show their posteriors, which is very "shocking"! On the other hand, old men can pray before women without being indecent. 561 562 782 834

Many, besides, in order to say their prayers place themselves behind the imam (either an Arabian taleb or a Tuareg who knows a little Arabic), and they make their genuflections, saying, "Allahou akber" (God is the greatest) every time they hear it said by the imam. That is all of their prayer. 782 788 793

There were many who told me that they did not observe the fast of Ramadan, among others Badjloud, the amr'ar of the Kel Ahnet. On the other hand, the Issoqqamaren (fractions who have long been in contact with the Arabs and still are) are more religious, and they all observe the fast. 785 771

Among the Ahaggar Tuareg there are, nevertheless, some truly religious men, but they are known and pointed out and pass for marabouts, for example, Moussa ag Amastane, Beketa ag Ibrahim, and the Oulad El Mir'da and Oulad Mokhammed ag Sadik. 792

Although the Tuareg is not religious, he nevertheless has great respect for the marabouts whom he naively admires, always on condition that these marabouts do not interfere with him. Thus the marabout Beketa ag Ibrahim stated that the dates coming from the Tidikelt, recently occupied by the French, were forbidden by the religion. He changed his mind later. But now, every time that he goes to ask an amr'id for dates, the latter comments that they came from the Tidikelt and are therefore forbidden by the religion, and Beketa answers, "No. All that is over now," and accepts the dates.

Religious orders are quite widespread, especially among the Issoqqamaren. Going by caravan to the Tidikelt or the Touat, the Ahaggar have joined the order of the Tijaniyyah, which numbers most of its adherents among them, and that of the Qādiriyyah. Others (usually they all are those who have

585 /145 cont./ Some tribes, in particular the Issakamaren, having adopted many Arab customs, observe the following custom on the day after the marriage: the husband who has not found his wife to be a virgin during the meal breaks the bone of a leg of meat, eats the marrow, blows through the inside, then sticks the two broken pieces in the couscous. In this way everyone knows the affront he has suffered. Later in life, when his wife becomes disagreeable, he will put his fist before his mouth and blow between the fingers, imitating his gesture of the first day. The woman, ashamed, will stop her recriminations. Following another custom less and less /146/ in use, the woman who has found her husband lacking in virility during the wedding night will crown him with her alechou /shawl/, thus showing to the world the impotence of her husband by considering him to be like a woman.

593 The woman holds a privileged position in Tuareg society.
562 It is customary to say that the reason for this must lie in the matriarchal organization of the tribes.

Among the Tuareg today matriarchy survives only in a very attenuated form due to the presence of Islam. It must be noted that the woman is absolute mistress in the tent; she gives the orders to the children and the Negroes, and she organizes the daily life; but outside the tent the man commands; he decides on the camp moves, the departures of the caravans, the commercial transactions. The woman's opinion is always taken into consideration; she is guardian of the traditions, [611] and, if she does not possess what we may call civil rights, it is she who transmits them: a Targui will be a noble if his mother is a noble. The right of eligibility to the amenokalat /chiefship of the confederation of tribes/ is given by the women who are directly descended in the maternal line from the ancestor Kella. This transmission of rights by the women constitutes the originality of Tuareg society.

837 Powerful in her home, lived by her husband, respected, the young wife has every chance to be happy. It is rare that

000 /148 cont./ carried out in connection with one on the Tuareg. The atavistic fear of the Negroes before the imouhar renders them mute, and gaining their confidence is a long-range undertaking; to learn of their intimate life, their joys and sorrows, would require great patience.

Still, the original character of the Ahaggar lies in just this intimate fusion of two dissimilar ways of life: one will never really know this country without understanding both the Tuareg and the Negroes and realizing what the true feelings they have about each other are, beyond what we observe superficially each day.

NOTE. Forms of religions, according to Huxley, follow a psychological determinism according to which the superior monotheistic religions are supposedly discovered by "men of thought" and polytheistic religions by "men of action." It is reasonable to ask whether the Tuareg, who formerly were, above all, "men of action," did not, for that reason, conserve survivals from neolithic religious beliefs, /149/ and whether the French peace, suppressing their essential activity, did not give rise in them to a psychological current leading to meditation and favoring Islamization. For the presence of Arab marabout, chorfa, and tolba, however active they may be, is not sufficient to explain that religious current which tends to make Tuareg customs disappear.

Note on Tuareg Matriarchy

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562 The Ahaggar, which constitutes a sort of ethnic preserve where a system that is still feudal reigns, presents a sociological curiosity: a survival of the matriarchal family. This matriarchy, undermined by the growing influence of Islam, is tending to disappear. It is well to deny certain false ideas which circulate about the Tuareg family: "The woman

593 /149 cont./ commands." "Tuareg hospitality is characterized
562 by promiscuity, a sort of traditional prostitution." The truth is entirely different. The origin of Tuareg matriarchy is certainly lost in neolithic customs; ignorance of the process of conception may have been the cause. This familial organization led to exogamy, which tends to disappear; incest is
[835] a crime more terrible than murder. Matriarchy is the guardian of the caste system: the duty of mutual assistance bestows on the warriors (nobles) part of the fruits of others' labor and
[548] gives them ownership of the land. Prostitution does not exist; monogamy is the rule; the woman is respected. "Maternal rights," as L.-G. Richard says, "consist rather of mutual obligations than of prerogatives or advantages." There is no female liberty, for the woman owes herself to her family; in fact, she exercises no rights whatsoever; she transmits them. A custom still practiced, characteristic of matriarchy, is the requirement for the young husband to live a certain time in his wife's camp.

177 Let us repeat that Islam little by little is destroying the
593 matriarchal customs, particularly insofar as succession is con-
622 cerned, for they are increasingly regulated by Moslem practices. Today, the chiefs even desire to leave their power to their sons.

/151/ VI

Conclusion

000 The Ahaggar is, I believe, the most engaging part of the Sahara -- and I have conveyed neither the picturesqueness of the scenery, the attraction it has for travelers, nor the anguish it sometimes instills in certain souls, when from October to

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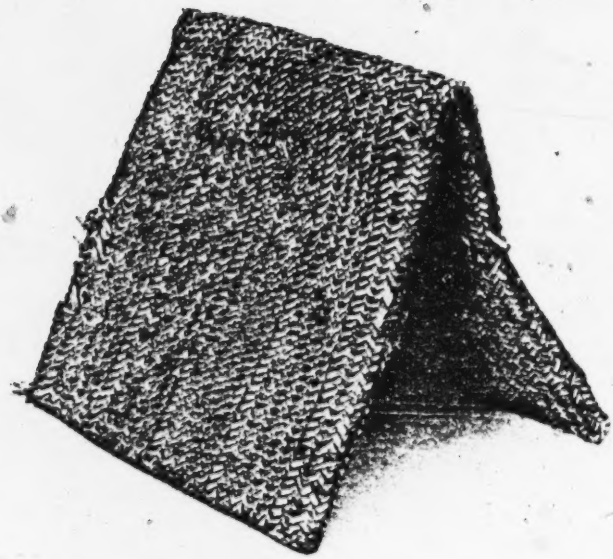

Fig. 66. Saddle cloth (*ɛsɛlis*) made of dum palm matting. Ayr, the *Imezzureg* tribe. Dimension: 0.28 m high in bent position (N.M. G. 6657).

ilgam (Fig. 73–74) made of leather by the *Imeggedezen*. Camels may also be provided with a bell (*anayna*) attached to a neck-collar (Fig. 74b). The Ayr Tuareg also use bells for roaming bull-camels, as I have myself seen, and for rams and he-goats, but never for oxen.

The camel is used for riding by Tuareg men, while many women never mount camels. Among the Northern Tuareg most women of the true vassal class (*Imrad*, or *Kel Ulli*) only mount camels very occasionally, when they sit behind the saddle of their husbands or close male relatives. Their proper riding animal is the donkey. Women of the *Isekkemaren* class more frequently mount camels which are the correct riding animals for women of the nobility (*Ihaggaren*). Noble women never ride donkeys.

In Ahaggar proper riding saddles for women are found only in noble tribes, in the *Ireɣenaten* tribe, and in tribes of the *Isekkemaren* class. Such saddles are constructionally related to the transportation

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saddle known as *tebeyut* or *tkhawit* and described above p. 76 (Fig. 57). The Ahaggar Tuareg have four sub-types of women's saddles:— (1) *akhawi*, that is a very large saddle at each side provided with a wooden arch; (2) *tkhawit* (*ta-n-tkéwin*), a lighter saddle provided with similar wooden arches; (3) *arugen*, a large and heavy saddle without side-arches; (4) *tkhawit* (*ta-n-tehḍaḍ*), a light saddle without side-arches. These saddle types, particularly the former type known as *akhawi*, are exhaustively described by Foucauld in his dictionary (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 723), and a very beautiful specimen is here depicted from the collection of the Musée de l'homme (Fig. 75). Very elaborate saddles as that depicted are always made by the blacksmiths, but light saddles of the *tkhawit* types may also be manufactured by Tuareg women. Thus women of the *Ireǧenaten* tribe south of the Ahaggar Massif make saddles of the lighter type themselves. Women's saddles may sometimes be provided with a roof made from curved and bent boughs covered with cotton or blankets. This peculiar construction is known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *ahennaka*.

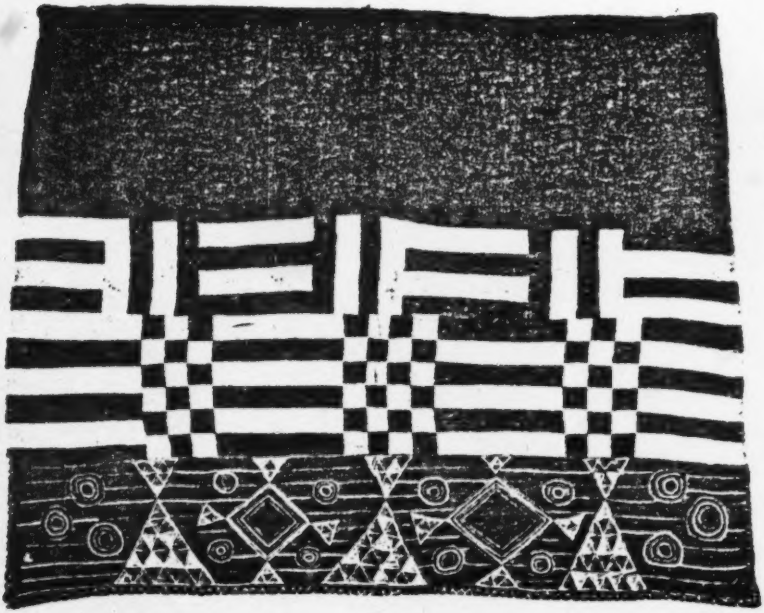

Fig. 67. Saddle cloth (*amesiaḳ*) of cotton and embroidered with coloured thread. Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension: 0.771 × 0.620 m. (N. M. G. 5190).

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Fig. 68. Tuareg camel riders prepared for a camel-race. The fixed position of the saddles is secured by means of a long cord (*ihwéweren*) tied around the hind part of the camel. Tasilé-n-Ajjer.

*492 [562] The saddle types just mentioned are unknown to the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg and apparently also to other Tuareg of Ayr. Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group refer to these women's saddles as "Arab saddles", and when their women mount camels on festive occasions they do not use proper saddles but a kind of chair built up upon two very large cushions manufactured by the *Imeggedezen*, and stuffed with hay. The arrangement of this saddle-chair is complicated and it takes some hours to finish it. It is built as follows:— The two large cushions (*éstigen*, sing. *ésteg*) are placed on the camel's back in front and behind the hump. They support a superstructure known as *tésagaley* and made from various objects belonging to the tent in the following way:— (1) Two large and oblong skin-bags are stuffed with hay or old cotton pieces and each of them is wrapped with a coloured blanket to form an oblong parcel. (2) To stay these parcels a rolled bed mat (Fig. 212b) is tied horizontally to each of [285] them, and they are laid parallel with each other on the ground. (3) A very long mat plaited from dum palm leaves is rolled up and wrapped into a coloured blanket or a coloured piece of cotton. It is bent into a U-form and thereupon attached to the two oblong parcels by means of cords. This superstructure is further covered with coloured blankets and pieces of cotton. It is placed upon the two large cushions and tied to them and fastened to the camel by means of cords and girths. When a woman rides in such a saddle-chair she sits behind the animal's hump so that she cannot reach the camel's neck with her feet. The back of the U-formed mat prevents her from falling backwards. The structure *492 of the saddle-chair may be seen from the photographs (Figs. 76–77). It should be understood that a 562 saddle made in so difficult a manner is not used by the women except on festive occasions, such as [409] travelling to attend a marriage or an Islamic feast. Apart from the very few noble women belonging [562] to the two noble tribes within the *Kel Ferwan* group all women of this drum-group normally ride

[Text continues on p. 92]

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Fig. 70a-b. Tuareg camel whips (*alekkoḍ*, pl. *ilekkoḍ*).

a. Whip with a single lash. Collected in Ahaggar by Olufsen. Dimension: 1.08 m long. (M.N. G. 1.138).
b. Whip with two lashes. Tasilé-n-Ajjer, the *Urayen* tribe. Dimension: 0.845 m long. (Author's collection).

Fig. 71. The drinking bowl (*tamennust*) made from tinned brass and fixed to its ornamented leather cord (*témetrek*) by means of which it is attached to the saddle pommel (cf. Fig. 49). Ahaggar, the *Aṭuh-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension of the bowl: 0.258 m in diameter (upper part). Dimension of the leather cord: 0.685 m long. (N. M. G. 5287).

*492 ● 562 donkeys, but, as in the North, they sometimes mount the riding camels of men sitting across the animal behind the saddle.

*492 531 233 192 The Tuareg take a keen interest in the adornment of all objects used for riding camels. The richly decorated saddles and the ornaments of the riding gear express the particular value attached to the animals used for riding. But Tuareg interest in camels is perhaps more clearly understood, when we consider their rich camel vocabulary.

The Tuareg have one word which can be used for any camel regardless of its sex and age, its colour, and all other particular qualities. This word (*amaġur*, pl. *imuġar* in the northern dialect) does not seem to have its equivalents in vocabularies of other domestic animals which collectively are referred to by means of a sex term of adult animals (e.g., *ulli* = "goats"). The word *amaġur* (pl. *imuġar*) is used in conversation, but it is heard less frequently than camel terms which have a very definite meaning.

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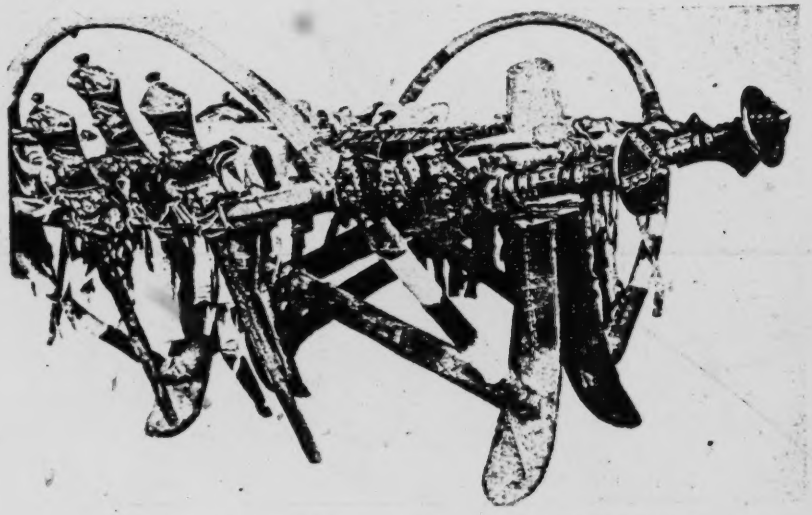

Fig. 75. Women's camel saddle (*akhawi*). Ahaggar, noble tribes. (Musée de l'homme).

233 and the Ayr Tuareg separately, because they frequently use different terms for the same colours and
192 because the Ayr Tuareg have a great many piebald animals which seem to be rare in the north. In the north most animals are of one colour, and the common terms of Ahaggar camels are the following:— *adegnas* (dirty white), *ébeydeg* (white), *éberim* (whitish yellow), *atlaɣ* (mahogany), *abzaw* (whitish), *émengel* (dark grey), *alemlaɣ* (grey), *ézerif* (metallic grey), *ahaggar* or *ézegger* (red), *abhaw* (reddish-brown), and *ékawél* (black). There are a few other terms. I have noted the following terms of piebald camels in Ahaggar:— *éḍemḍem* (a dark or red camel being white on the nose or around the mouth), *iigen* (a camel with white legs), and *azerraf* which term seems to be applied to all camels of two colours, and also to other piebald domestic animals.

I have noted the following terms of camels of one colour among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Ayr:— *adegnas* or *wa mellen* (white), *abzaw* (whitish), *atlaɣ* (mahogany), *égadé* (light brown), *awraɣ* (something between light grey and light brown), *éberhey* (something between whitish and light grey), *aberog* (greyish), *ingal* (dark grey), *ézerif* (metallic grey). Most camels of one colour belong to one of these shades, which are frequently so close to each other that a correct description and translation into European colour words is difficult. Most one-coloured camels I have seen in Ayr were *adegnas*, *abzaw*, *atlaɣ*, and *ézerif*, but piebald camels seem to be more common than the unicoloured animals. I have noted the following terms of piebald animals:— *amulas* (white blaze, white colour around the mouth, the remainder of the animal being dark), *agusrer* (the back and partly also the neck greyish

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Fig. 76. The two large cushions (*ésteg*, pl. *éstigen*) which form the basis of the woman's camel saddle in Ayr. The *Imezzureg* tribe. Dimension: 1.90 m. (N.M. G. 6659a-b).

brown, the remainder of the animal white), *énil* (dark grey with white colours on the belly, the hind thighs, and the four legs), *awinaḳ* (dark grey back but with white on the sides close to the hump, on the hind thighs and legs, on the forelegs, and on the tail), *azurzum* (white on the hind thighs, the remainder plain), *ajwillal* (camel with numerous small circular spots close to each other), *azerraf* (camel of two colours, black and white, or black and red; there is no definite rule for the distribution of these

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Fig. 77. The woman's riding saddle built upon large cushions (*éstigen*). Ayr, the *Imezureg* tribe.

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192 two colours on the animal). There are other terms for piebald camels, but I have only mentioned the colours I have seen myself, as it is extremely difficult, not to say impossible, to note down colour terms without seeing the animals. One characteristic of many piebald Ayr camels has not been mentioned above: They very frequently have red-white eyes, and such animals according to the Tuareg are always deaf. Red-white eyes and deafness seem to go together with certain forms of piebaldness, so that all camels termed *azerraf* and *ajmilal*, and some camels termed *agusrer*, *awinaḳ*, and *azurzum* are deaf.
*[492] This, however, does not prevent the Tuareg from using these animals for riding and transportation, and even deaf bull-camels are frequently used in breeding.

The Northern Tuareg have a great many different terms for particular qualities of their camels which are named after their way of roaring and walking. The following examples come from the Ahaggar Tuareg:— *ahenderremma* or *aṛenennas* (a camel which has the habit of neighing with joy when it sees something very agreable; e.g., a she-camel seeing its calf when it returns to the camp from grazing), *émerregreg* (camel which roars mournfully when it becomes separated from its master, or from another camel with which it normally grazes; certain camels are particularly attached to each other and never separate during grazing), *aṛewaha* (a camel which has the habit of uttering the plaintive roaring named *taṛewahit* during loading and unloading), *asekkelela* (a rutting camel uttering the sound named *teṛelelit*). The Ahaggar Tuareg have other terms for camels to denote their behaviour. Thus there is a particular term for a camel which becomes scared when walking in a caravan after sunset so that it throws off its load and gives rise to a lot of panic among the other caravan animals.

As examples of camel terms given according to the animals' way of walking, mention should be made of following examples from Ahaggar:— *aiegemsegam* (camel which takes very short steps), *aseffakas* or *alemdeyyas* (camel which takes very long steps). The Tuareg of Ahaggar have many special terms for camel-gaits. To indicate this I quote the detailed description of gaits given by Fou-

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Fig. 42a. Tuareg performing the ceremonial camel-ride on the first wedding day. The women stand in the shade of the *afaqay* acacia and sing and drum while the men ride around them two by two. Southern Ayr, *Iyawdiken*.

Boys and girls may play together, but there is a tendency for them to separate in their games. Boy-games centre round camels, while the games of girls centre round the family life of the tent and certain domestic tasks. But though camels are never tended by women, girls also make camel figures from cotton stuffed with hay, though they do not make figures to represent goats and donkeys which among nomads are connected with women and tended by them. The emphasis on camels in girl's games is due to the fact that camels have important functions in social life as described briefly below.

Tuareg initiation consists in the adoption of the veil by young men, and a similar piece of cotton used as a head-cloth by young women. The veil is adopted by men when 16–18 years old, the head-cloth by women somewhat earlier shortly after the first menstruation, or at marriage. At initiation the young man is presented with a sword, and if he does not already possess a riding camel with a saddle it will be given him on this occasion by his father, perhaps by his mother's brother. The young man is now a warrior and a camel man, and he will take part in nightly gatherings of young people of both sexes to sing and make music. These nightly gatherings are very often followed by love-making, and the riding camel and the ability of the young man as a rider play a great part for his success in love. The beauty of the riding camel, its saddle gear, and the way it is ridden are all to some extent considered qualities of the rider. Thus when women at nightly gatherings praise young men in their songs they will also praise the riding camels. And when a girl likes a young man she will present him with coloured skin bags, reins, embroidered saddle clothes, and similar objects to be used as ornaments for his riding camel.

In a ceremonial ride termed *ihgten* (*ihgan* in Ayr), which is performed at weddings and certain other feasts, the young men have a particular opportunity to display the beauty of their camels and their own ability as riders. The ride takes place not far from the wedding tent on a level sandy place where the women gather to sing and drum, while the men dressed in their finest clothes ride their ornamented camels to and fro past the women, who praise the beautiful camels and the skilled riders by their songs, their music, and by shrill cheers. In this ceremonial ride the emphasis is not so much on such

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wild the Ayr Tuareg also know another type of snare, or rather lasso, which is also known as *tigrunt*. It consists of a long rope noosed at one end, but the loop in this case is thrown against the animal by means of a short forked stick. The *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg say that this type of lasso is not widely found among them, and claim it is typical of and traditional for the pastoral Fulani, who use it to catch cows which are difficult to approach.

The wild donkeys caught for domestication are young animals, for very old ones cannot be tamed. When an animal is caught by one of the above mentioned methods it is beaten a heavy blow between the ears so that it falls unconicious to the ground. It is thereupon given a rope around its mouth, for wild donkeys are fierce and have a dangerous bite, and is also tied with ropes around its legs so that it cannot run. When the animal comes to after the blow it is led to the camp where it is tethered. It remains tethered and fitted with hobble-ropes in the camp for one or two months during which period it gets a very brutal treatment. It is trained for riding by the men who mount it daily during this period of training (cf. Fig. 85) until it can be ridden as freely as domestic donkeys. The Tuareg say that not all donkeys survive the heavy blow on the head but that most of them do.

Donkeys constitute the important riding animal of all vassal women, and there are also some men of the true vassal class who ride donkeys though most of them have riding camels. Donkeys are also extremely important pack-animals. They are used by most Tuareg for the transportation of tents and

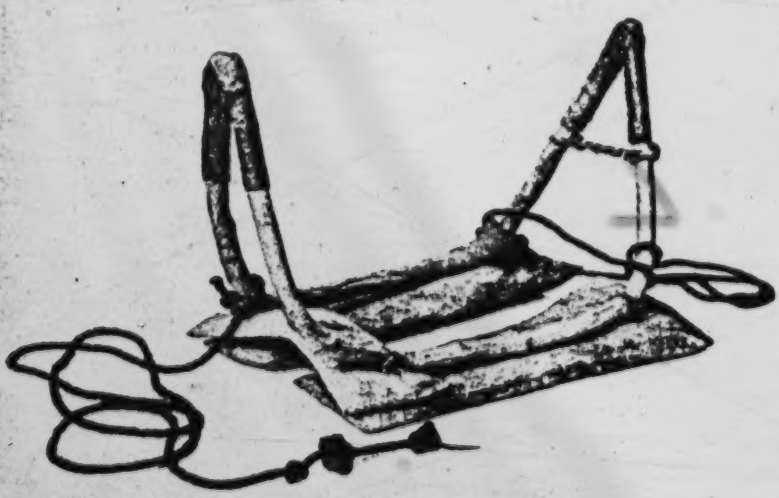

Fig. 86. Donkey saddle (*arukz*) of the type described in detail in the text (cf. p. 110). It is fixed to the animal by two cords of goat's hair: the girth (left), the cord passing under the tail (right). Ahaggar, the *Dag Rali* tribe. Dimension: 0.585 m long, 0.360 broad. (N.M. G. 5246).